

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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FOURPENCE

NEW MOVES FOR PEACE

'End the Cold War'

— LABOUR PARTY MEMBERS

THE Labour Pacifist Fellowship has issued a manifesto headed "Britain—Keystone of Peace: A Foreign Policy for One World."

It is a closely-reasoned document leading up to the following "outline of priorities":

PLAN PEACE NOW

(1) The time has come to make a spectacular all-round effort to liquidate the "cold war," by using to the full the UN machinery of conciliation and peace-making, and, where this is deficient, to have resort to new initiatives, such as those given below.

NO MORE MILITARY PACTS

(2) We must make it clear to our "allies" that our people will be unwilling to undertake any further commitments, having as their objective the division of the world—economically or militarily—into two hostile blocks.

BRIDGE, NOT BATTLEFIELD

(3) By taking full advantage of our unique position as a key member of the European, Commonwealth, and Anglo-Saxon communities, it should, from now on, be our declared aim to encourage and develop a mediating group of democratic nations between the capitalistic and communistic forms of militarism.

MAKE FRIENDS, NOT FOES

(4) All positive links should be strengthened—commercially, politically and culturally—with India and Pakistan, and with those European countries, such as Switzerland and the Scandinavian groups, which are displaying their reluctance to jeopardise their independence and to waste their limited resources on a suicidal arms race.

CUT LOSSES IN KOREA

(5) The face-saving "truce" negotiations should be forthwith removed from the control of the US military commanders in the field and—following the noteworthy examples of mediation in Palestine, Kashmir and Indonesia—conducted through the appropriate organs of the UN; while parallel steps should be taken for convening a high-level Peace Conference for planning the political and economic reconstruction of Korea in the primary interests of her tortured peoples.

FAIR PLAY FOR ASIA

(6) Britain's earlier resolve to oppose any extension of the war in the Far East, least of all in China, should be followed up by a Pan-Asian Conference (to which should be invited the representatives of the main national groups which are contesting Western control of South-East Asia) so as to work out the foundations of a long-term settlement.

TACKLE THE DANGER SPOTS

(7) As the liquidation of nineteenth century imperialism will clearly be effected by force, if reason does not prevail, the British Government should, while there is time, take the initiative in drawing up long-term proposals for the transfer, where appropriate, of ex-Imperial possessions and international waterways of strategic importance to the UN or to some other form of "trusteeship" within the community of nations.

IF TRADE CAN'T CROSS FRONTIERS, ARMIES WILL

(8) Increased international trade in essential foodstuffs and commodities of a peaceful nature (wheat, timber, textiles, commercial machinery, etc.) should be planned between ourselves and the countries of Eastern Europe and of Asia, and all artificial and provocative trading restrictions, recently imposed upon us for military reasons, should be brought to a speedy end.

DEEDS NOT WORDS

(9) An immediate and substantial cut in the British arms budget should be proposed by us in order to give reality to the Disarmament Commission, with the proviso that the manpower, money and materials so released should be devoted primarily to restoring and augmenting our threatened social and educational services and towards our share in the rehabilitation of undeveloped areas under, eventually, a World Development Authority.

ABOLISH THE ATOM BOMB

(10) Britain should seize the moral leadership by renouncing forthwith the use of all atomic and bacteriological weapons and similar methods of mass-annihilation which, in the words of the Genocide Convention (now awaiting our ratification) are crimes under international law and "contrary to

NAPALM BOMBS IN KOREA

Canon Collins challenges the Archbishop of York

THE Archbishop of York's recent proposal that Christians should demand the outlawing, by international agreement, of "weapons so horrible and destructive" as napalm bombs was criticised by the Rev. L. John Collins, Canon of St. Paul's, in a sermon at the Cathedral last Sunday.

According to a report in the Daily Express, the words to which the Canon objected were "by international agreement," which, he said, put the protest into a dream world.

"The statement would have had more force," Canon Collins went on, "if it had asked Christians to demand the outlawing of the bomb as a condition upon which Britain should continue to assist the efforts of the United Nations in Korea."

"And is war necessarily a lesser evil than Communist domination," he asked. "There are other ways of combating evil than by force of arms."

The deeper issues

The Canon proceeded to probe more deeply into the import and logic of Dr. Garbett's attitude by asking the following questions:

- 1.—Are we, if we take to arms, to risk losing a war by refusing to use terrible and indiscriminate weapons? If we are, then in modern warfare it is folly to take up arms.
- 2.—Is the Archbishop of York really in fact offering us church people a sop to our conscience, a sop which enables us to avoid facing the deeper issues?
- 3.—Are we—is the Archbishop—to support men and women who, as a result of such protest, refuse to be conscripted into the armed forces?
- 4.—If war is a lesser evil than the possibility of Communist domination over the world, will the Archbishop—in order that a war against Communist aggression once begun can be won—be willing to ask the Church (in spite of any efforts that may be made to "humanise by international agreement") to sanction the use of any weapon, including the napalm bomb, if the military experts give an assurance that their use is vital to success in arms?

If the Archbishop's premise was sound, said Canon Collins, he must answer "Yes" to the last question, but to do so would undoubtedly cause grave offence to the consciences of Christians.

"We are convinced that the primary task of the Church in this problem is to do all in her power to resist evil, not by force of arms, but by the power of love," he declared.

Canon Collins has recently become a

the principles of the UN and an outrage to the human race."

CREATE A MINISTRY OF PEACE

(11) As peace is the basic need of the British people, a Minister of Cabinet rank should be appointed with adequate staff and advisers, to be responsible to Parliament for implementing and co-ordinating government actions (such as the foregoing) designed to promote good-neighbourly relations outside our shores and to further the growth of World Citizenship among our own people.

Michael Scott on Africa

The statement was endorsed by the Annual Meeting of the Labour Pacifist Fellowship held in London last Sunday.

John Rankin, M.P., was appointed President in place of Reginald Sorensen, M.P., who had asked to be relieved of this responsibility while offering to continue to help in the work of the Fellowship as Vice-President.

A visitor at the meeting was the Rev. Michael Scott, who gave a short address on the present position in South and Central Africa. He said that among the natives suspicion of the white man was now very deep. There was a foundation of much native goodwill to England and this must not be thrown away. This could not be fostered, however, by talking of partnership in vague terms; it must be partnership on terms of human equality.

member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the leading Christian pacifist organisation in this country.

In a pamphlet "Christianity and the War Crisis," which he wrote in December, 1950, in collaboration with Victor Collanz, he pleaded for personal contact between the statesmen of the great Powers, and the establishment by this country of a "Peace Office," but had not yet reached the full pacifist position.

"We are by no means pleading for any refusal to face undoubted facts or any blunting of our resolution to take such measures as, after due deliberation and without passion, we may think it necessary to take for the safeguarding whether of peace or of freedom," the authors wrote.

Pope calls on women for "CONCRETE ACTION" AGAINST WAR

P.N. Correspondent

THE Pope, no doubt remembering the hundreds of thousands of tragic messages which came to him during the war from both sides of the firing line, has called on women throughout the world to take concrete action to prevent another World War.

"The Church and humanity expect from you action aimed at wiping out hatred and forging bonds of brotherhood between peoples and at eliminating the material causes of conflict, such as want, unemployment, obstacles to emigration, and such like."

Emphasising the need for action, he continued:

"Bring best forces into play"

"Many women carry their work for peace into each of these spheres."

"If, however, all women were to pass from that innate feeling which makes them abhor war to concrete action to impede war it would be impossible for the total of such imposing efforts which bring into play the forces best calculated to move the will, namely piety and love—it would be impossible, we say, for it to fail to win its objective."

WOMEN CO-OPERATORS CALL FOR "ABANDONMENT OF ARMED FORCE"

Peace News Reporter

THE keen interest of Co-operative Guildswomen in peace and international affairs is shown by the fact that no fewer than seven resolutions on these subjects appear on the agenda of their Annual Congress, which is being held at Scarborough from Monday to Thursday of next week.

The first of these resolutions, sponsored by the Central Committee and by two local branches, "views with grave concern the increase in armaments all over the world and the adverse effect of this increase upon the living standards of the common people."

The resolution goes on to call on the British Government to foster a policy of international economic co-operation, and to seek continuously for ways whereby proposals for disarmament may be accepted and followed.

Other proposed resolutions deal with "the disastrous threat of a third world war to the future of the nation's children," the call for a Five-Power Conference, the foreign military bases in Britain, the rearmament of former enemies, the promotion of exchange visits between Guildswomen in different countries, and the fostering of

Brighton bans use of Town Hall "POLITICAL ILLITERACY"

OPENING a "Peace with China" meeting in The Dome, Brighton, on Wednesday, April 30, Bernard Boothroyd, Associate Editor of Peace News, who was Chairman of the meeting, said that it had been necessary to take the Dome for the meeting as the Hove Council had refused them permission to use the Hove Town Hall.

"It is a serious enough thing," he said, "that elected representatives of important municipal bodies should display such bigotry, ignorance and political illiteracy as to believe that anyone who wishes to discuss the question of international peace must be a Communist."

"Violation of democratic principles"

"But it is even more serious that they should deny the elementary rights of free speech to fellow-citizens and rate-payers whose opinions they don't happen to like. It is a violation of those very democratic principles on which our whole social and political framework is based, and which the Western world is supposed to be on the alert to defend."

Mr. Sydney Silverman, MP, said that Britain recognised that the legal Government of China is the Government in Peking.

"We recognise their right to be represented in the Security Council"; but although they were not so represented we nevertheless expected them to accept United Nations decisions. Great Britain's attitude to China was illogical; America's was logical but crazy.

Mr. Kingsley Martin, Editor of the New Statesman, said that the revolution in Asia inspired by the Asian people's desire for national freedom, was one of the greatest events in history.

Asia's desire for freedom

Mr. John Rankin, MP, said that the tragedy of Korea was that men were still dying in a war that was no longer going on.

"When England gave up the idea of conquering Scotland both lived together in peaceful friendship."

This was a lesson that could be applied to all countries.

Dr. Joseph Needham and Mr. John Hoyal were also among the speakers.

Representatives of 28 different organisations passed a resolution urging the strengthening of UN and its development into effective world government when they met at a conference organised by the Swedish Peace Council.

trade relations with the non-dollar countries.

The 69th Annual Report of the Guild, which will be considered at the Congress, includes a reference to an exchange of views with the co-operative women's organisation in Czechoslovakia, in connection with the British Government's refusal of visas for the Sheffield Peace Congress in 1950.

Criticism from Czechoslovakia

The Czech women criticised "the anti-democratic, all free discussion suppressing attitude of the British Government towards the World Peace Congress," which, they said, they did not believe to be supported by the British people.

The Central Committee of the English Guild replied by saying that although the Guild had worked for a long period of years for a policy of peace through international co-operation and disarmament, it was not satisfied that the Congress which was to have been held in Sheffield was "either desirable or effective as a method of preventing war," and believed that the best way of settling international differences was through the machinery of the United Nations.

The report also mentions that over 100 delegates from England attended the Congress of the International Co-operative Women's Guild which was held in Copenhagen in September, 1951, many of them paying their own fares.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

9th May 1952

THE LABOUR PARTY DECLARATION

WE welcome the Labour Party statement declaring that the Government should be ready to enter into the Four Power Conference on Germany proposed by the Soviet Government.

It seems to us to be a rather tardy recollection by the Party of the international aspects of its policy, but it is none the less welcome now it has been made.

The Labour Party statement expresses the view that in the first instance the discussions should deal with the means by which freedom of elections may be secured to the German people.

This issue obviously comes first but it may be doubted whether it can in fact be separated from the other issues that will fall to be discussed by such a conference.

Since the statement has been issued the US Government has also proposed that there should be a Four Power meeting restricted to this issue, but this proposal seeks to make the restriction effective by confining the talks to the four High Commissioners in Germany, instead of meeting the Russian overtures which would involve talks in which the respective Foreign Ministries would be engaged.

The scrutiny that is implied in the Labour Party proposal need not be at all a one-sided affair.

While in Eastern Germany it is desirable to make provision that all points of view may be freely represented at the polls, we have published in our columns sufficient evidence that it is very desirable that there shall be greater freedom of speech in any West German elections than obtains at present under the Adenauer Government and the occupation of the Western Powers.

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This side of the matter is important also in regard to a further aspect of the Labour Party statement which we are glad to note: that independently of the result of the proposed Four Power conference "before any German rearmament is undertaken there must be agreement with the German people"—fresh elections should be held in Western Germany before any commitment is undertaken by the Adenauer Government for a German contribution to the European Defence Community.

Judging from the information that comes to us of the German opposition to rearmament there is a very considerable prospect that new elections would not result in the return of an Adenauer Government.

The "sample" of German opinion that we reproduce on this page is further recent confirmation of this.

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However, the issue of most immediate importance is the question of the Four Power conference. It has become evident that the American, French, and British Governments have been hoping that in one way or another nothing positive shall have resulted from such a conference until Western Germany is fully committed to making a military contribution to the "Defence" community.

What is to happen in the next two months will be of vital importance in deciding the future of Europe, and whether a divided Germany must become the sparking point for a third world war.

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The Western Powers are constantly expressing their sympathy with the East Germans because of the conditions under which they have to suffer under the Russian yoke.

If they let pass the opportunity to ascertain whether there is a chance to secure their release and reunion with the rest of Germany through negotiation, they will have made it evident that it is not the liberty of Germans and democracy for Germany with which they are concerned, but only with a desire to use the German people for their own ends in the power struggle in which they are engaged.

The 18,000,000 people of Eastern Germany can then look for "liberation" in the same sense as the Korean people have experienced that blessing.

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The issue is of such outstanding importance that we greatly hope the Labour Party does not propose to rest content with the declaration it has made. It should be regarded as an obligation to run during the next few weeks a country-wide campaign of meetings on the subject.

The international aspect of British Labour Party policy has not been greatly in evidence since the war. That there should be a vigorous campaign of demonstrations backing up the Labour Party declaration is something that the British Labour Movement owes to the German Social Democrats.

Restrictions of trade -

ON April 30 Dean Acheson assured Britain that the escape clauses allowing conditional withdrawal of tariff concessions in American trade agreements would "not be resorted to lightly."

Both Britain and Canada have felt increasing apprehension at the signs of the reimposition of import restrictions by America. If restrictions on trade between friends cause apprehension, what about restriction on trade with those who are regarded as potential enemies?

The Battle Plan deliberately ties the hands of Britain and other countries receiving any kind of aid from America by preventing their trading in a long and comprehensive list of goods with Cominform countries.

Total war has not only blotted out any line of demarcation between fighting services and civilian, it has also brought nearly all goods into the category of war material, and the cold war virtually means the ending of trade between one half of the world and the other. This deprives Britain not only of valuable markets, but also of sources from which she could obtain essential imports. It makes her much more dependent on American trade and aid.

It used to be said that "if goods do not cross frontiers, sooner or later armies will." The danger of war is increased not only by the race in armaments, but by the restrictions on trade which the cold war involves.

and of travel

RESTRICTIONS today, however, are not only imposed on merchandise.

On May 1 the State Department banned all travel by U.S. citizens to Communist countries without specific permission.

Travel to many of these countries has been completely forbidden for some time, but the new restrictions are justified by the need of preventing "sneak visits and of protecting Americans who might not realise the risk of visiting the Iron Curtain countries."

The confiscation of the passports on their return to the USA of two American Trade Unionists who attended the Moscow Conference underlines the real meaning of the restrictions. They were neither sneak visitors nor innocents abroad.

The restrictions are the obverse side of the policy which seeks to encircle Communist countries. Once the USA has become committed to a policy of encirclement restrictions on both trade and travel become inevitable.

Uranium curtain

A PHYSICIST at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology stated on May 2 that up to 80 per cent. of French scientists seeking entry into the USA had been barred, with a damaging effect on future progress in science and technology.

We deplore all such restrictions whether by the East or the West, but when they are imposed by Governments which claim to be freedom-loving, they are all the more regrettable. If people are not allowed to cross frontiers in civilian clothes, sooner or later they will cross them in uniform.

The two members of the PPU who recently saw Mr. Selwyn Lloyd on the subject of the restriction of travel of Soviet diplomats in this country were informed that the decision was not taken as a reprisal but as reciprocal action, the reaction to which the Government hoped would be a lessening of restrictions in the Soviet Union.

Whichever word may more accurately describe the action, restrictions of all kinds are much more likely to lead to an increase than to a lessening of tension.

It is idle to attempt to defend freedom by denying it. Those who talk most about freedom should be foremost in abolishing all restrictions on trade and travel, and in helping to create a world in which the free movement of goods and people could lead to co-operation and mutual assistance, emphasising our interdependence, and by bringing understanding and trust could help to banish the fear which causes the irrational behaviour of all governments today.

The Katyn Woods murders

IN September last year the American House of Representatives decided to set up a Committee of seven members to investigate the circumstances of the massacre of Polish soldiers who were buried in Katyn Wood.

It will be remembered that the Germans accused the Russians and the Russians accused the Germans.

We do not know to-day which side was guilty of this monstrous crime and the committee of investigation has not yet reported.

According to Mr. Julius Epstein, however, who was former executive secretary of the investigating committee, there is evidence that the view Mr. Churchill held during the war was that the Russians had been responsible.

Mr. Epstein wrote to Mr. Churchill early this year to ask him to declare his mind on the subject. The reply he received informed him that "Mr. Churchill does not wish to make a statement on this subject."

Trees had been planted on the mass graves at Katyn to cover up the crime, and the two conflicting stories of the Germans

BEHIND THE NEWS

and the Russians referred to transplanted pines and birches respectively.

Mr. Epstein quotes from the fifth volume of Mr. Churchill's memoirs, "The Closing of the Ring," the following memorandum addressed to Mr. Eden:

30 January, 1944.

I think Sir Oliver O'Malley should be asked very secretly to express his opinion on the Katyn Wood inquiry. How does the argument about the length of time the birch trees had grown over the graves fit in with this new tale? Did anybody look at the birch trees?

It is perhaps evidence of rather more grace in Mr. Churchill than in the American authorities that he does not wish to make a statement. If under the exigencies of war, you have connived at what you believe to be

Opinion in Germany

The New Statesman (May 3, 1952) publishes the following as "recent findings of the most reliable public opinion poll":

Q: "Which is the more urgent, the unification of the East and the West Zones or European integration?"

A: 55 per cent. for unification, 27 per cent. for European integration, 18 per cent. no opinion.

Q: "Do you think it right that there should be German divisions in a European Army?"

A: 38 per cent. Yes, 39 per cent. No, 23 per cent. no opinion.

Q: "Do you approve of conscription?"

A: 32 per cent. Yes, 47 per cent. No, 21 per cent. no opinion.

Q: "Would you feel it right to become a soldier again, or that your son or husband should become a soldier again?"

A: 13 per cent. Yes, 75 per cent. No, 12 per cent. no opinion.

Q: "Which do you personally think more important, that we Germans should get on well with the Americans or be neutral?"

A: 30 per cent. "Get on well with the Americans," 48 per cent. "Be neutral," 12 per cent. no opinion, 1 per cent. "Get on well with the Russians."

a crime, even as accessory after the fact, it is a little more seemly to continue to keep quiet when it is no longer to your advantage to do so.

Those who accept war have to be prepared to accept a great deal more of foulness than mere killing in battle.

The US Congressional Committee, incidentally, is raising the question why it was not sought to fix responsibility for the massacres at the Nuremberg war crime trials.

The Germ Warfare charges

NINE scientists, all Nobel prize-winners, have written to M. Joliot-Curie, urging him to retract his endorsement of the charges that America has resorted to germ warfare in Korea.

They point out that M. Joliot-Curie has endorsed these charges without verifying them and that he has incurred "a grave responsibility to your fellow scientists throughout the world," and to truth. They ask him to join with them in a demand for an investigation by "teams of the International Red Cross or any other recognised impartial body."

We have already published in our columns the technical reasons for doubting these charges while we have made it clear that in our view no reason can be found in the moral abhorrence of such methods that once existed for an assumption that they could not be used to-day.

Those who were responsible for doing what was done to Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and who can to-day inflict the cruel obscenity of death by the napalm bomb upon children, have no reason to be squeamish about the spreading of cholera and the bubonic plague.

Why not the Red Cross?

Even if the technical considerations we have mentioned were not present, however, there would still be reasons for rejecting these charges that would be equally compelling.

These are to be found in the attitude of the Chinese and North Korean Governments to proposals for their investigation.

The Western Governments have suggested that there should be an investigation by the International Red Cross, a proposal which is also made now by the nine scientists we have referred to.

In two world wars the IRC, in which Russia and her satellites, as well as the USA and her satellites have places, has been accepted by the main belligerents as capable of carrying on its work impartially in regard to the armed forces of both sides. This proposal has, however, been rejected by those who are bringing the charges, and we are far from urging that they may not have a case for its rejection.

There has also been made the suggestion that the World Health Organisation should

be given facilities for work on the epidemics in the affected areas; this quite apart from the question of investigations.

This proposal has also been rejected, and although the Chinese and the Koreans can doubtless claim that as they are at war with the forces of the United Nations (a contention they have been inclined to reject, however, in the Korean truce talks) and that therefore they would be admitting enemy representatives to their territory, this is not a contention that is likely to impress many people outside the territories of those levelling the charges.

It is not primarily machinery of investigation that is in question here, but the provision of trained help in dealing with the epidemics that are afflicting North Korea, whatever may be the cause of them.

An investigation called for

Be this as it may, those who make these charges are not entitled to reject proposals for their investigation and leave the matter there.

It is incumbent upon them to make proposals for an investigation upon conditions that may be generally accepted as providing for impartiality.

Everybody knew, for instance, what the delegation of democratic lawyers would say on their return.

Did anybody, for instance, expect Mr. Jack Gaster, a member of the Communist Party, to return and throw doubt on what had been pronounced upon by the North Korean, Chinese, and Russian Communist Parties?

Whether Mr. Pritt is or is not a member of the British Communist Party we do not know. But did anybody, outside or inside the Communist Party, expect him to say anything different from Mr. Gaster?

The North Korean and Chinese authorities make no proposals for investigation other than that supplied by their hand-picked delegations. They act as if they desire to be in a position to make the charges without having to face any obligations as to impartial investigation.

We frankly do not believe they would act in this way if they were convinced of the truth of the charges they make.

WPC and BPC

We think we ought to add a word or two on the position of the World Peace Council in this matter.

It was on behalf of this body that Mr. Joliot-Curie lent his scientific standing to the endorsement of charges on the basis of "evidence" which, as he had not been in a position to apply any means of control or investigation, his conscience as a scientist should have dictated the rejection.

The British Peace Committee has been rather more circumspect. It has simply treated the charges as proved without asserting that this is so. Neither in the case of the World Peace Council nor the British Peace Committee is it felt that they are called upon to comment on the rejection of the International Red Cross as an investigating body and of the World Health Organisation as a body to assist in stemming the epidemic.

These bodies are apparently incapable of making even a deprecatory comment on the failure of the complaining Governments to indicate any kind of acceptable machinery for the investigation of the charges they have made. This is one more confirmation of what has always been apparent, namely, that the conditions of their existence inhibit any pronouncement that would be likely to incur the disapproval of the Cominform.

"Le Résistance" in Tunisia

THE French are again having to deal with a "resistance" movement—resistance against domination by an alien invader; only this time the boot is on the other foot.

It is the French who are being hurt and inconvenienced by acts of sabotage, and there does not seem to them to be any very special virtue in the operations of the Tunisian Resistance Committee, eleven of whose members have been arrested.

It is reported that the greater part of the money that has served to finance the operations of the Resistance Committee has been supplied by the Princess Zakia, daughter of the Bey.

M. Baccouche, who has been appointed Prime Minister to serve the purposes of M. de Hautecloque, the French Resident-General, has not yet been able to find seven Tunisians willing to serve on the mixed Commission which is to have the job of approving M. de Hautecloque's reform proposals. However, it is hoped to find the necessary number at a private gathering of members of various public bodies to be held in the Resident-General's garden.

The correspondent of Le Monde—which great newspaper, like the great newspapers of other countries, has a certain haziness of vision where its country's imperialistic policies are concerned—remarks that the procedure may appear a little surprising from a democratic standpoint, "but an exceptional situation calls for an exceptional solution."

M. de Hautecloque was sent to Tunisia to deal with the nationalist movement with a strong hand. Each forcible solution he applies to the problems that confront him produces a new set of complications.

Tailpiece

THE Society of Friends seem to have missed the War Office posters; the subject of a recent Quaker conference was "The Menace to Society of Drink, Gambling, and Military Conscription."

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The decline in the value of human life

CONSCIENTIOUS objectors to military service, with the No-Conscription Council and other organisations which support their protest, are not only maintaining the freedom of conscience, they are also bearing witness to the sanctity of human life.

There is no value of our fading civilisation which has more suffered eclipse in these barbaric days than the value of human life itself. Not for centuries has human life been held so cheap; to-day its headlong fall continues unchecked.

The Thirty Years War in Europe provides the nearest parallel to the callous and wanton destruction of human life to which we have now given way. We live in the darkened twilight of Christianity and so of humanity.

The smoke of war has obscured the sun of Christian ethics and all its compassion, fellow-feeling and love have lost their radiance.

Open abandonment

This open abandonment of respect for human life we cannot but painfully recognise when we see it in monstrous forms such as the German extermination of the Jews, the Russian extermination of Kulaks and other bourgeois, or the Anglo-American extermination—by atom bombs—of Japanese.

Whatever military value there may have been in the destruction of Hiroshima, the inhabitants of Nagasaki were treated purely as human guinea-pigs, in the experiment to discover whether plutonium made a better atom bomb than uranium.

In all these shocking cases, whether of Jews, Kulaks or Japanese, the destroyers did have a grievance, real or imagined, against those they destroyed. But what is revealed in Korea is a new depth of callous indifference to the destruction of human beings as such.

It is the sustained contempt for human life which makes the civilian slaughter in Korea so ominous for the future.

It is computed that in the first six weeks of the war in Korea more civilian lives were destroyed by the United Nations Air Forces than were destroyed by the Luftwaffe in our own country during the whole of World War II.

The United Nations have made it clear that in pursuit of something that the Archbishop of York calls "justice," they are prepared to wage war with barbaric violence which has no precedent in human annals.

Civilian lives just do not count. Thus a newspaper eye-witness reports:

"The United Nations Air Force can be criticised for insufficient selectivity in their choice of targets. Whole villages have been wiped out because they were suspected of harbouring Communist sympathisers."

"Insufficient selectivity"—at the beginning of this century no reporter would have dared to use, and no newspaper to print, a phrase so cold, so callous and so mechanical to cover atrocities of this dye.

We need indeed only to throw our minds back to the last war and recall the passions of righteous indignation aroused by the name of Lidice, the village wiped out by German soldiers on the similar ground of harbouring partisans, to perceive how swiftly human values continue to decline.

Indifferent affliction of Napalm

It may be argued that one weapon is no worse than another. Nevertheless, the general use of napalm bombs does mark another stage in the indifferent affliction upon all and sundry of a new intensity of suffering. An eye-witness again reports:

"A napalm bomb hit the village. . . . The inhabitants were caught and killed and kept the exact postures they held when the napalm struck."

Among the victims were "fifty boys and girls playing in an orphanage." Could your eyes, gentle reader, bear to look upon that playground?

As a drunkard going rapidly down-hill toys with the idea of "signing the pledge,"

EVIL, ROOT OF

I REGRET to announce that we, the staff of Peace News, bear within our hearts the root of all evil—viz, love of money. (1 Timothy, VI, 10).

But surely, you say, it is not money you love, but the cause for which you need it.

Thank you, but we cannot honestly accept that exoneration. Pacifists cannot separate means from ends. If we love the cause, we must love the other. Therefore we love money.

Moreover, we want money quickly, and he that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent (Proverbs, XXVIII, 20).

It is a distressing predicament, and I only mention it so that you can avoid it. Send us your money before you get too fond of it.

B. J. BOOTHROYD

Contributions received since April 25 1951: £11. Total for 1952 £322 11s. 5d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

A CALL TO CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

By the Rev. Claud Colman

so the same nations which sanction and commit these atrocities, talk of a "charter of human rights."

What human rights of those fifty boys and girls were respected, much less assured to them?

Is the napalm bomb now a conventional weapon?

—and now the hydrogen bomb

To this human deterioration there is at present no end in sight. The decision to go on with the construction of the hydrogen bomb carries with it the decision, under certain circumstances, to use it and thus to destroy human life as this planet has known it.

The Church, which should function as the conscience of the world and is the natural guardian of human life, should now be filling the world with protest and resistance against this decline of humanity. Instead, it finds grounds for condoning these atrocities on the ground that "Christian values" are at stake.

Who is this Christ who needs to be defended by such methods?

He has nothing in common with the Christ of the New Testament who declared, "It is not the will of My Father in Heaven that one of these little ones should perish."

In this extremity of mankind the conscientious objector to war stands barring the way to the extinction of humanity. He must not budge nor falter.

No troops — no fighting

"The Nazis stirred up a revolution in Brazil and an armed crowd invaded the President's residence. The President, however, had no troops to guard him, so the rebels went away. They expected a fight, and did not want to be unfair."—Brazilian Ambassador, Sunday Express, April 27, 1952.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Operation Gandhi gratefully acknowledges £1 from "Bud, Derrick, Jim and Ted," towards the cost of the Aldermaston demonstration.

At the closing session of the AGM—

R. H. WARD CHALLENGES THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

"How many pacifists do YOU know?"

R. H. WARD, writer and broadcaster, Editor of the BBC series "Apollo in the West," provided a fundamental challenge to members in the concluding address to the Peace Pledge Union's Annual General Meeting, the earlier sessions of which were reported in Peace News last week.

He spoke on "Some Fundamentals of Pacifism" directing his remarks to the enquiry he levelled at those present: "How Many Pacifists do You know?"

Starting from a dictionary definition of a pacifist as one who follows "the doctrine that the abolition of war is both desirable and possible," he passed on to an alternative definition of a pacifist as "a man or woman who cannot make war."

"It sounds a shade different if we put it: a man or woman who *can* not make war. . . . Personally, at least, I am not in a position to say that I *can* not make war. I should like to be in that position, but I am not. I'm taking care to speak for myself, of course, but the fact is that I can make war, and do, in a number of ways; it's part of my nature."

In man's present state he is a creature which naturally makes war. "This is not to say that tanks, bombers, atom-bombs, germ-bombs, and so forth, are natural in themselves; but it is to say that it is natural to man to use them. When he hadn't these things to use he used others for a like purpose. . . . It is really only a sentimental notion of ours that wars fought with atom-bombs are worse than wars fought with bows and arrows, or even naked fists. War is always war, it always arises from the same essential cause—that violence is part of the present nature of man. 'Out of the heart come wars.'"

One had only to open a history book to know that war is not an abnormality. "Far more actual time is spent at war than at so-called peace in the life of recorded civilisation. . . . Indeed there is little to be said for human history other than that it is a criminal record, a record of crimes of violence, actual physical violence, political violence, violence of opinion, dogmatic violence about religious beliefs, violence of rivalry for power, whether power over groups of men or over one man—or woman; for much that passes under the name of human love is in fact violence," R. H. Ward continued.

"The violence in man is inescapable, and we make matters worse by trying to escape it; worse because naked hatred is at least an honest thing in us, as honest as hunger or sexual desire, while the attempt to escape

the violence in ourselves leads to endless duplicity, hypocrisy, preference and self-deceit.

"For example, it may very well be that those who left the PPU when the last war broke out, and joined the Forces, were honest than we who 'stood by our pledge' as we were pleased to say. The seceders, perhaps, recognised the violence in their natures, and accepted its implications.

"I think they were in a stronger moral position than some of us who charitably 'excuse' them by saying that it takes a strong man to have the courage of his convictions, or to lose his friends, or the affectionate regard of his wife. So it does; but it is easier if one happens to be able to keep one's job, or has a wife who shares one's views at such a time. And some natures find it easier to make martyrs of themselves than to be honest in their natural violence.

"It is a rare man who is really better than his fellows, and not simply as bad in a different way."

Self-righteous excuses

R. H. Ward enumerated the moralistic and self-righteous excuses that are urged in justification of war, and went on to remark that even pacifists *can* make war.

"There are numberless ways of making it, including what are called 'propaganda activities,' and denunciation of 'warmongers.' The fact remains that we cannot *not* make war. You will see what I mean next time you think that someone has insulted you—for you will 'declare war' at once. It is therefore a question whether the abolition of war, however, desirable, is possible."

Asking why if it were possible for war to be abolished it had not been, R. H. Ward said that there must be some reason why the progress we so much pride ourselves upon has not yet managed to touch the question of the abolition of war, why the only true progress, 'progress in charity, does not, in fact, exist.

(Continued on page five)

The Correspondence of John Bunyan, Pilgrim as it Appeared in a Dream to Mr. Tax-Gatherer Implacable II. THOUGH MEN BESET HIM ROUND

By Denis Gray Stoll

To Mr. Tax-Gatherer Implacable, from Mr. John Bunyan, Pilgrim, of no permanent abode.

Dear Sir,

Yesterday your letter came while I was solitarily by myself in Bedford Jail. But this morning the gates have been unlocked. I am free, and it would be especially wrong to answer you in the same unbrotherly terms that you addressed to me in my unfortunate strait. It is my duty, however, to tell you plainly that I have no money and therefore cannot pay you.

Those powers that imprison me for refusing to kill my brothers in war also expect me to earn money to pay for that war while I am in jail. Finding myself pressed in to this unprofitable situation, I can only retort: "What shall I do?" In like condition even you, Mr. Implacable, with a burden upon your back, would cry out with the same words.

What shall I do? Certainly I may not take the advice of the man I met on the road two hours ago. It chanced in this manner. Bethinking that God in His grace abounding would not suffer despair to overtake His peaceful Pilgrim, I had set off once more on my way to the Celestial City. I had not travelled more than a league when I saw a man of clerkly appearance, tall and glum, and something more comely at a distance than at hand. He had a great quill pen behind his ear. He paused when he espied me coming, and took down his pen, holding it as though he would make an entry in his book.

"How now, Pilgrim?" said he, with a grievous sigh. "Hast thou forms which need to be filled in?"

§

"No, sir," I told him. "I have come from a place where enough paper has been wasted in that manner to print all the books in the world twice over."

"Needs must when the Devil drives," he sighed. "What dost thou here, then?"

"I am on my way to cross the Delectable Mountains, good sir."

"Why so?" asked he.

"These mountains are Emmanuel's land, and they are within sight of the Celestial City which I hope to reach with God's help. I seek to be rid for ever of this heavy burden of wars and taxes on my back. For get it off myself, I cannot. Nor is there

any man in our country that can take it off my shoulders for me."

"You are wrong, dear sir," he said. "I am the man. I am Mr. Time-Server of the Ministry, and I represent the Town and Country in its Carnal Planning."

"In that case, sir, perhaps thou wilt be neighbourly enough to plan some easing of my burden so that I may travel more lightly to the Celestial City."

§

Time-Server fell in to a sigh deeper than before.

"I groan, my poor fellow," he said, "to see how ignorant of correct procedure thou art. It is necessary to comply with the regulations, fill in form ZX3997612375, stating the reasons for relief and why thou wishest to travel, and in due course thy application will be considered. If successful, thou wilt receive a blue form AT8735829, and a yellow form PQ8945371, on which thou canst forward thy request for a certificate of medical examination. Thou wilt then give the information required in triplicate, and send. . . ."

"But, sir, I am in haste. . . ."

"In that case I should advise thee not to seek the Celestial City, but to build a house here. In my spare time, I make a public service of building houses for pilgrims with views of the Delectable Mountains. Fill in these forms and I will see what can be done for thee."

"There is no time, sir. I go to escape the wrath to come."

Time-Server was, however, already scratching with his quill pen in the book.

"How many in family?" he asked. "Wife's maiden name first, children, goats, cats, dogs, chickens? How many ration books? Hast thou a passport? Are all thy family's certificates of births, deaths and marriages in order? What art thy identity-card numbers? Hast thou registered for military service? When was thy birth? Canst thou think of any reasons why thou shouldst live and enjoy the benefits of our Carnal Planning?"

"One question at a time, sir," I said. "I have a family. But I am so laden with this burden that I cannot take pleasure in them as formerly. Methinks, if I do not find relief soon, it will be as if I had neither wife nor children."

Time-Server sighed.

"Thine is a typical case. Pressed and troubled as thou art, I would advise thee, friend, to consider a pretty site I have for sale in the Slough of Despond. It's a little under half an acre, without too much dirt, and the price as bog land is only twenty pounds. Of course, the building value is greater. But seeing thy unfortunate condition, let us say—one thousand poundds. Deduct twenty pounds, and that leaves nine hundred and eighty pounds owing to the Exchequer of Chancellor Fair-Speech."

"Why so, sir? I have committed no transgression."

"The sum must be paid as a Development Charge. One thousand pounds is not much for a site with views of the Delectable Mountains. I will help thee, friend, so have no fear of the number of forms. We will apply for a building licence for thy family house. There will be bricks, timber, glass, which we may hope to amass in the course of years, hastened perhaps a little by my testimonies on thy behalf. In the meantime, if thou lackest an accommodation unit, we will call upon Councillor Talkative, JP, who may allow thee and thy wife and children to rent a cave in the Hill of Difficulty where the rates are not what they were, and provision is more than it was. On that very Hill there lives a worthy gentleman whose name is Mr. Legality, a very judicious man, who has skill to help men off with such heavy burdens as thine. Yea, to my knowledge, he has put a good deal in the way of them besides."

"But it is from that House and that Hill that I have fled!" I cried. "I am resolved to turn my back on all such mischievous counsels of Carnal Planning."

Time-Server sighed, and looked upon me with a severe and dreadful countenance.

"Thy folly is great," he said, "but I will leave these forms with thee in case thou repentest of thy wayward imbecility. Here also is my card of estate. Call at my office any time between 10 and 5 of the clock, and my secretary, Miss Wanton, will be delighted to show thee sites with views over the Devil's Garden and the County of Carnal Conceit."

And again I was left alone with my burden, crying: "What shall I do?"

Tell me, Mr. Tax-Gatherer Implacable, what shall I do?

Yours in the faith,

JOHN BUNYAN.

CHILDREN OF WALES CALL FOR PEACE

THE Welsh Children's Message of Peace to the Children of the World, will go out again this year on the BBC Welsh Region Children's Hour Programme at 5 p.m. (BST) on May 18 on a wave-length of 341 metres.

The Message for 1952 reads:

"Boys and girls of all nations! We, the boys and girls of Wales, once again greet you. This is Goodwill Day. Across land and sea, youth calls to youth in the name of freedom and of friendship."

"We rejoice today in all the efforts of men and women of every race and people, who are doing their best to set the world free from war."

"We want a world in which never again shall countless homes be destroyed and little children suffer hunger."

"We want a world where no nation shall live in fear of any other nation."

"We want a world where the nations shall work together for the good of all, trusting each other and sharing together the riches of the earth."

"By our confidence and courage, by our thoughts and deeds, we can help to spread a new spirit throughout the world, and we will!"

"Youth of all lands, let us dedicate ourselves today to our greatest adventure of peace on earth and goodwill among men."

Last year's broadcast message was read by a girl and boy in Welsh and in English, followed by a series of replies in speech and song from 14 countries.

Eight languages

Special programmes were broadcast from many other countries.

Radio-Luxembourg relayed the message in eight languages with an orchestra playing eight national anthems.

New York's WYNC gave a programme in which Welsh singers took part.

Vienna broadcast a Children's Demonstration organised by the Austrian Junior Red Cross.

Tasmania's short wave service broadcast a response from the Quaker school at Hobart.

Hilversum, Geneva, Lausanne, Copenhagen and Innsbruck also broadcast special programmes.

Goodwill Day commemorates the opening of the first Hague Peace Conference in 1899. The Annual Message is sent out by the Rev. Gwilym Davies, Temple of Peace, Cardiff, Wales.

Queen Mother encourages US school-children

NINE and ten-year-old children at a school in the USA have had a message from the Queen Mother of good wishes for their work for peace.

The children are pupils of the fourth grade of McKinley School, Youngstown, Ohio, known as the McKinley Peace Crusaders.

The Crusade was born when the teacher of the fourth grade class, Miss Frances Thompson, told her pupils of a family that was unhappy because the father was being called to Army service and asked what could be done to prevent such unhappiness and future wars.

She received all sorts of answers. "It was amazing the ideas the children had," Miss Thompson later told the press.

The outcome was the formation of the Peace Crusade with its motto: "Do unto others as you wish they would do unto you"; a Crusade prayer: "We pray for peace for children and their families all over the world. Help us to live the Golden Rule so that there will be no more war," and the Crusade aim: "To write to one child in the U.S. and to one child in another country."

Started in 1950, the Crusade has had a snowball effect all over the world as the following extracts from the fourth grade newspaper show:

Gretchen Smith and Loreen Hunt, aged 10, write:

"We received a message from Queen Elizabeth of England through the kindness of Lady Marion Hyde, Her Majesty's Lady-in-Waiting."

"Her Majesty is greatly interested in our Golden Rule Crusade and thinks much can be done for World Peace by instructing the young. The Queen extends best wishes for the success of our Crusade."

"We greatly appreciate her interest and thank Queen Elizabeth for her message."

Sandra Pritchard (10) writes: "We heard from a student teacher and eight of her pupils from Berlin. They want to join our Crusade."

Under the direction of their teacher, children at another school in the U.S. have written a song for the Crusaders. The tune is "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

Miss Thompson has written to Lady Clare Annesley, a member of the Peace Pledge Union: "We would love to have more names and addresses from England, France and other countries, if you know folk who might be interested. I get requests daily from folks here for names and addresses."

"A waste of money to train me for war"

Z-OBJECTOR WOULD NOT FIGHT RUSSIANS

THE widely differing grounds on which sincere objections to military service were based was an outstanding feature of the Appellate Tribunal held in London last Friday.

Denis Hayes, solicitor, war-time member of the staff of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors and author of "Conscription Conflict," represented a number of Z-reservists who based their objection on political grounds and argued brilliantly the case for their recognition.

In supporting Mr. J. D. Pole, N. Greenford, a civil servant appealing on moral grounds, Dennis Hayes said that Pole had stated that he based his appeal on "pure expediency." But Pole was convinced that war would be a disaster to the whole of the human race, and must be avoided whatever the cost.

"What is expedient for the race is moral for the individual," said Dennis Hayes. "There is here both a humanitarian and a rational objection."

Pole said that killing in self-defence was not murder, but that mass killing in war was murder. War today, between two totalitarian blocs would mean atom bombs, toxins, plague—from which there would be no defence.

"I have a vision of what the future could be," he said, "but as things are going today, there is not going to be much future for anybody." His appeal was rejected.

"The Russians are right"

Mr. A. E. Siggers (Smethwick) who based his appeal on political grounds, was described by Denis Hayes as a man with a glowing army testimonial, highly skilled in work connected with telecommunications, keen industrious and popular.

He held Left Wing views, attended Communist meetings, but would not join the Party because he said: "I should then have to surrender the liberty of judgment that has brought me to my present views."

The appellant was not a pacifist, but an individual thinker who felt that only in specific world circumstances could one decide whether war was right or wrong.

Asked how long he had held these views, Siggers replied, "Since rearmament, about 1948."

Asked whether he wished to see the principles of the Soviet Union applied to this country, he replied, "not entirely, but I should like to see the Communist system represented in Parliament. . . . I am being called upon to kill the Russians. How can I do so knowing that they are right and I am wrong?"

In reply to a remark from a member of the Tribunal that since he did not object to all war, it was illogical to object to training at this stage, he replied, "It is a waste of public money to train me for a war in which I am unwilling to take part." His case was dismissed.

Influenced by Tolstoy

Mr. J. P. Bishop, Hither Green, aged 31, who appealed on ethical grounds, said, "The key to survival lies in co-operation and not in force by governmental means."

As a prisoner in Germany—he spoke German—he had discovered that the Germans were men like ourselves, coerced, as they were coerced, by power from above. He had been greatly influenced in his thought by reading Tolstoy. Exemption was recommended.

Mr. H. G. E. Greenway, New Southgate, aged 36, appealing on religious grounds said that even in the forces he had felt that there must be some other way.

Asked what would have happened if he and others had not volunteered in 1939, he said that there would not have

Denis Hayes pleads for recognition of political COs

THE case for the recognition of political grounds for the basis of conscientious objection to military service was closely argued by Dennis Hayes when he appeared on behalf of Mr. E. Whitworth, a Z-reservist from Biggleswade at the Local Tribunal at Fulham on April 25.

"If anyone not an absolute pacifist is entitled to be recommended, this is the case," Denis Hayes told the Tribunal.

Whitworth, a plastering sub-contractor and former private in the infantry from 1937-1946 said he had spent two years in jungle warfare during which time he had seen Japanese cruelty. He now abhorred the rearmament of Japan.

He was not a pacifist; his views were political and libertarian and he believed as a matter of principle that it would be wrong for him to be conscripted into the Army.

Would fight for World Government

He felt the United Nations were reverting from the principle of the rule of law to power politics.

"I can be called upon to fight in a cause in which I have no faith," he said. "If we have got no scruples in rearming our former enemies, what scruples have we got?"

Asked by the Tribunal if he would enrol in a World Government Army, he replied: "I would consider it a privilege to be in an International Police Force. I would fight, if I was sure the principles were right."

At this point Denis Hayes read some extracts from a statement submitted by the applicant:

1. If I thought my country was fighting in a just cause, I would take part, but would endeavour to mitigate the consequences.

2. I can only fight if the cause is for truth and right.

been a physical victory; there would have been persecution and martyrdom; but thousands of unnecessary deaths would have been avoided and by now they would be seeing the results of moral victory.

He objected to all killing, including capital punishment. Recognition as a CO was recommended.

In supporting the case of Mr. R. C. Martin, from HM Prison, Lewes, who had refused to be medically examined and been sentenced at Bristol to six months imprisonment, Mr. Watson, solicitor, said, "This is a picture of a simple life of an honest man in a Somerset village."

Martin, aged 19, the only son of a widowed mother, had worked since he was 14 on his uncle's market garden. He objected to all bloodshed; He loved and tended the animals; he refused to eat meat, fish, or eggs. Though a regular church-goer, he preferred to base his objection on ethical grounds. He was granted conditional exemption.

Mr. J. W. Fulton, Wembley, aged 33, appealing on humanitarian grounds in order to save his three children from the horrors he had known abroad, said in reply to a question that he did not think rearmament would stop war:

"A nation unarmed would receive less harm than one armed . . . since it would constitute a threat to nobody. . . . Disarmament had never been attempted."

Recognition was recommended.

Mr. L. H. E. Gentry, Willesden, a sheet metal worker, aged 28, appealed on political grounds:

"I object to being trained for an aggressive war, and I cannot lend myself to a cause in which I do not believe."

British soldiers, he said, were spreading horror and devastation by means of petrol bombs in an aggressive war in Korea; they were being used in Malaya to bolster up the profit and greed of rubber and tin companies, and for no other reason whatsoever.

He was a member of the Communist Party and held socialist principles, which he would stick to irrespective of what happened to his appeal.

Asked why he had been willing to take part in the 1939 war, he replied that Hitler was suppressing the workers, and so to some extent it did seem to be a just war. But to take part in an aggressive war against the Soviet Union would be to betray the working class.

His case was dismissed.

3. I may find myself involved in attacking something in which I believe.

The applicant confirmed that these statements still held good.

"I would volunteer"

Denis Hayes produced a collection of Press cuttings relating to world affairs which Whitworth had been collecting since 1946. These, Whitworth said, had affected his own philosophy of life. "In a cause in which I believed, I would volunteer, but would not be conscripted," he said.

In a response to a remark from the Tribunal that this was an objection to a particular war, Denis Hayes said:

"This man is due to go for training on July 11, 1952, and apart from the intervention of some absolute miracle, he is going to be required to train for a war against Russia."

Denis Hayes then spoke at some length on the question of the boundaries of conscientious objection, and he said: "The intention is on all sides that the principles of the National Service Act should be applied to the Z-men."

The Walter Padley case

He referred to part of the interrogation of Walter Padley (now MP for Ogmore) by the Appellate Tribunal at London on Nov. 1, 1940.

When Lord Fleming (Chairman of the Tribunal) had asked: "Do you object to any war?" Padley replied:

"No, my position is this. It is my conviction that the use of force is justified only if on balance it will save human life and prevent human suffering. That broad

The Norwegian Cultural Attache is to speak to the Ilford Peace Pledge Union Group on "Norwegian Resistance."

News in Brief

PN IS ON TRIAL IN TRAIL

TRIL (British Columbia) Peace Committee is sponsoring trial subscriptions to 40 potential readers thanks to the enthusiastic recommendation of Peace News reader Dr. W. J. Endicott, of 1350 Third Avenue, Trail.

Dr. Endicott, who is brother of Rev. J. G. Endicott, former China missionary and now Chairman of the Canadian Peace Congress, writes:

"Peace News is by far the finest source of information and discussion that I have discovered in several years of search."

Last Christmas Dr. Endicott's gift to 21 of his personal friends was a year's subscription to PN.

China's youth coming to Europe

THE current issue of the Danish monthly "Kontakt" contains letters from a professor who has been teaching in two Chinese universities for the past two years.

He emphasises that there is now a great deal of exchange between the People's Democracies, with frequent international meetings in the different countries. A 12-year-old Chinese girl, for instance, had taken part in a Children's Congress in Eastern Europe.

Danes sent 162 peace volunteers abroad during 1951

WIDESPREAD activities are listed in the latest annual report of Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke, the Danish voluntary service for peace organization.

In 1951 162 volunteers were sent abroad, and they worked in Austria, Finland, Greece and Germany. Many practical and theoretical courses were arranged in Denmark, attended by 226 young people from other countries as well as by Danes.

The Swedish Foreign Minister was among the participants at an inter-Scandinavian gathering at Magleas Folk High School.

MS has been asked by Unesco to help in "fundamental education" plans in South Italy.

Swedish Free Churches expressed alarm at their March meeting at the recent "hardening" of the attitude of the authorities against COs who were to an increasing extent being ordered into the medical corps where they must wear uniform and carry weapons.

We did not say it . . .

On March 5 the Italian Premier opened an "exhibition of Atlantic solidarity" under the title "The Caravan of Peace." The exhibition consists largely of photographs of the armed forces of the Atlantic Powers, garnished with statistics to prove that these forces are sufficient for a defensive war but quite inadequate for an offensive one.

It was perhaps unfortunate that the pamphlets given free to all who visited the show should have borne largely diagrams which demonstrated that the Atlantic Powers possessed far greater martial resources than Russia. The motto they bore was "our strength is the guarantee of peace," but skilful Communist propaganda could soon make them appear to be mere exploitations of the principle that Might is Right.—*Westminster Cathedral Chronicle, Roman Letter, April, 1952.*

principle, based on the principle of humanity as a whole, is my guiding principle. I cannot say I would oppose all wars. Some may prevent human suffering. . . ."

Padley was recognised as a CO and registered for non-combatant duties in spite of his unconditional stand, Denis Hayes pointed out. Whitworth had a moral objection to conscription for any purpose, though having no objection to Military Service as such, and so comes within the orbit of the Act, and by implication, within the orbit of the Z-reservists.

"I hope that this Tribunal will consider most carefully the position, because—I feel it difficult to say this—the appeal should be laid aside differently as to whether Mr. Whitworth has moral convictions or not. I hope you will reach a decision, as a matter of principle, without reference to the Appellate Tribunal."

The Tribunal ruled that Mr. Whitworth's sincerity was not in question. He did not object to fighting in principle. He objected to training to fight for something he did not believe in. He must refer to the Appellate Tribunal, if he wishes.

Denis Hayes requested that a note be included in the notes of evidence that the following cases were referred to in the argument: Walter Padley; B. A. G. Perkins; Percy H. Hill; and Suresh Vaidya. The Tribunal agreed to this.

EVE OF DEPARTURE MEETING

Seretse Khama and Ramangwato deputations will address a united meeting before the return of the deputations to Bechuanaland, in Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd. (nr Victoria Station) on Saturday, May 10 at 7 p.m. Additional speakers will include: S. Beswick, MP; Canon Collins (St. Paul's); Geoffrey Bing, and others. Chair: Fenner Brockway. The deputation will answer Lord Salisbury.

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Saturday, May

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Up and Doing

HOUSE THAT JACK BUILT?

J.G., a trades unionist who works in a factory for the disabled, became a Peace News reader. Then he interested a work mate, and increased his order to two. Encouraged, he approached others; his order grew—four, six, eight—sometimes ten a week, and all sold.

He obtains his supply from the street seller who takes a regular stand outside Camden Town Station each Friday. In three years Joan Layton has increased her sales from three of four copies to between 24 and 30 every week. Her friend, Barbara Anderson, has covered Hampstead Station for an equally long time, and between them some 40 P.N. are sold regularly.

Need we add that Joan and Barbara get their P.N. direct from 3 Blackstock Road, thus completing a chain of personal links in which each encourages and strengthens the other.

We need more links in the chain, more Jacks (and Jills) to build for peace. Are you the missing link? H.F.M.

Circulation last week 12,100 copies

armed conflict. We had first to put a stop to this most fundamental crime, and only then should we be able to fulfil the task of rooting out the violence within ourselves.

R. H. Ward in replying said that in attacking only war between nations one was attacking an effect only, and not the cause. Even though international warfare might be abolished, warfare of other kinds, equally evil, would remain, just as slavery remained to-day, though slavery of other kinds had been abandoned.

He agreed that the proportion of violence varied with individuals. The reverse of violence was love, but this at present in most men appeared to be hidden; it was something of which we could not be said to have any true understanding.

At the close Sybil Morrison thanked the meeting for re-electing her. It had been a most remarkable year. The response to her letter of appeal, which had been in all ways a personal letter, had been staggering. Hundreds had written to her personally. She had kept and treasured all letters.

She spoke appreciatively of all who had helped her in her work, her colleagues at Dick Sheppard House, and her many friends throughout the country, particularly those in country areas whose difficulties were greater probably than any known in London.

She was particularly impressed by the wideness of their basis. All who knew Richard Ward and herself would realise that they had many differences of opinion, but both were members of the Peace Pledge Union and she believed that they would never quarrel. However widely members might differ in their views of how best to pursue their witness for peace, the renunciation of war was the one big thing that they had in common.

R. H. WARD'S CHALLENGE TO PACIFISTS

Continued from page three

"Perhaps this word 'progress' which we use so easily, and understand so ill, opens a fruitful line of inquiry, for it is surely anomalous that, in 'an age of progress' such as ours, the greatest of social evils, war should not have been affected at all, let alone abolished.

"But what is meant by progress? And is it real, or is it an illusion? Does our civilisation really demonstrate a progress from earlier ones? Does any civilisation of which there is reliable historical or archaeological record clearly assert a progress from any other civilisation? I doubt it.

"Although the custom of selling negroes has been abandoned, there is still slavery of many kinds and in many countries.

"The false and imaginary progress which on the one hand has brought us the good of penicillin and many other improved methods in medicine and surgery for the alleviation of human suffering, on the other hand has brought us the evil of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and potentially, at least, germ warfare.

"We are all looking in the wrong direction for the solution. We study appearances, not reality, effects and not causes.

"If war is ever to be abolished, we must face another way. That is, we must look within. And this applies in the first place, not to mankind in general, but to you and me. If true progress is progress in charity, then it begins at home.

"It might be urged that, plagued as the earth was with wars, there were still peaceful periods and it might be possible to prolong such periods until warfare fell into disuse.

"This is not in the nature of things; for in the nature of things the pendulum swings. Can you remember a war which never ended? Even the Hundred Years War ended at last. Everything we know ends. The stoutest oak tree ends. Human life ends. A moment of happiness you may feel to-day ends, and so does the moment of sorrow which succeeds it. Only if one could imagine a war which never ended would it be realistic to imagine a period of peace which never ended. . . .

"War and peace are really the same thing, different ends of one stick.

"Is the cessation of war the cessation of violence? Open your newspaper, in these piping days of peace, and study the domestic news: all this is violence—the many appearances of the same murderous impulse; and not only when you read of the woman who poisons her husband, the man who hangs himself, the drunkard who runs over a child, robberies, divorces, strikes, uproar in the House of Commons, quarrels about railway-fares, prices, markets; for under the surface of the rest of the news the violence persists, appearing in one form or another: rivalries, jealousies, competitiveness, even sport is a form of warfare; nothing escapes. . . . There is nothing here of what was called the peace which passeth understanding."

Mr. Ward said that it was easy to make the mistake of thinking that simply because we have attached to our outward man the

label "Pacifist," we have in some way altered our inward being. The behaviour of John Smith in the Forces was different from that of Pacifists; but neither better nor worse.

"There is always a horrible temptation involved in belonging to any 'minority movement' or 'cause for the betterment of mankind,' the same temptation as he fell into who prayed 'Lord, I thank Thee that I am not as other men.' 'Lord, I thank Thee that I'm not one of those dirty fellows who drop bombs on women and children'; and yet by the mere fact of thinking this—and we all do, if we examine ourselves carefully—we become a far dirtier fellow than the 'brutal and licentious' person we are careful to separate ourselves from.

The pacifist who hates Americans

"I know a pacifist who hates Americans. His reasons are never very coherent, but he will spend a great deal of his time—and mine—railing against them, and if anything is clear as I listen to him and look at his face, it is that this pacifist, for whom it would be a sin to make common cause with his own brother in a war, has murder in his heart. He is murdering Americans with his words—and is no more a pacifist than I am, who, of course, do the same thing whenever I express hatred of anybody.

"But there is a much more interesting thing to be observed in this man: he hates Americans—as he sees them, that is, for I doubt if Americans would recognise themselves in his idea of them—because he sees his own worst character—in his reflection in them. In reality he is at war with himself; he hates himself in them."

Remarking that war is in the nature of man, for man, as he is, is not possessed of understanding, the speaker said that he, as doubtless, his hearers, had pondered this matter for a good many years. He believed that man is not complete, whatever he may think; that man is capable of becoming more than he is.

"I think there is evidence, both of a historical and of a psychological kind, which indicates that man is an unfinished experiment of his Father's, and may yet have a long way to go before he is adult and responsible. . . . I do not necessarily mean a long way to go either in time or in numbers. The idea of time in this matter is a dangerous one, for it comes near to the 'progress' illusion.

Real peace would be progress in charity, an inward and individual progress. There was no telling what even one peaceful individual in the real sense might not achieve in the world. This individual could only be a man as he might become if, by some magical and secret process, he became a quite different kind of person.

"Is this in itself possible, this further evolutionary stage in the human experiment? And if so," R. H. Ward concluded, "what must we do, or not do, to be saved?"

In the discussion that followed Trefor

Davies (Palmer's Green) said that Richard Ward had defined the word "pacifist" and the word "progress" but he had not defined the word "war."

"A person who held that the abolition of war was both desirable and possible," as the definition of a pacifist was adequate, provided that by war we meant armed conflict between national and sub-national groups. The abolition of war, in this sense, was both desirable and possible. Political and economic circumstances might be created which would make war seem as impossible in the future as war between England and Wales seemed to us to-day.

If by the word "war" Richard Ward was referring to a part of the violence within human nature, he believed that its abolition, though not possible in mass, was still possible for individuals. As a Christian he believed that people could be converted from their animal nature, and could experience the peace that passeth all understanding (not the peace that is past all experiencing).

Dora Holden said that she felt that the picture that Richard Ward had given us was not a completely true one. He had told us that violence was a part of the nature of man. She wished to know what other characteristics went to make up the total man. What proportion of man is violent? Does the proportion vary from one man to another? Can the proportion be altered?

Frank Dawtry (Surrey) said that he agreed that violence was in us all. Pacifists recognised this, but chose not to use that violence.

There were also people who were not pacifists, but who when they had to choose between the use of violent and non-violent methods had chosen the latter. This was particularly true in regard to the treatment of crime where there was a strong movement for helping the criminal instead of attacking or punishing him.

Pacifists did not claim to be better people, but they did claim to be different. As the militarist, by training, could develop the violent part of his nature, so we could develop the less violent part of our nature.

Harold Bing (Chairman, WRI) did not think it was true to say that in all civilisation the periods of warfare were longer than the intermediate periods. It was not true, for instance, of China.

Minnie Pallister (Hastings) pointed out that if armed conflict resulted from violence in the human heart, then war must be a spontaneous outburst, but in fact we knew that men had to be enticed into the Army by good conditions, or conscripted into it by force.

David Ritchie thought that a distinction should be drawn between violence in nature and violence in behaviour. It was because pacifists had changed their behaviour that they could not take part in war.

It had happened over and over again that when a step forward had been taken—in regard to education or housing, for instance—it had been stopped by an outbreak of

Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent to us. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Saturday, May 10

LONDON, S.W.1: 8 p.m. Caxton Hall, Westminster: Social following for Council Meeting; For: PPU.

MANCHESTER: 8 p.m. Milton Hall, Deansgate: N.W. Area PPU.

Saturday, May 10 - Sunday, May 11
KESWICK: Weekend School, Highfield, The Heads: "Peace, What am I doing about it?" led by Connie Jones; Cost 10s. 6d.; Booking fee 5s.; Details from John Bullough, "The Orchard," Risedale, Grange over Sands; PPU.

Sunday, May 11

BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m. White Ladies Cinema: Sybil Morrison and Minnie Pallister, "What Price Peace Now?"; PPU.

Tuesday, May 13

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh Street: "Spreading the knowledge of non-violence"; Discussion mtg; Non-violence Commission; PPU.

Wednesday, May 14

LONDON, E.3: 8 p.m. 20 Barton Ho. Road; PPU.

Thursday, May 15

CAMBERWELL: 8 p.m. Burnet Hall, Burnet Rd Cong Ch. Chamberwell Green; Dr. A. D. Belden, "Can Christians prevent a Third World War?"; Chair: Cyril Sponz; Public Mtg; For: PPU.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho. Bush Rd; David Mackay: Poetry Readings; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.10 to 12.30; Little Chapel, Kingsway Hall; Fellowship mtg for Prayer; Leader: Harold Furner, For: PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields: Open air mtg; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.

Friday, May 16

HUDDESFIELD: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho. Paddock; Edward Thomas, "Work of the Friends Service Unit in Manchester"; For: PPU.

Saturday, May 17

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St; B. J. Over, "Planting the Tree of Peace"; Social Order Commission; PPU.

SHROPSHIRE: For Area Conf; Hugh Faulkner and Rev. H. Budden: Details from Pastor Dennis Fretwell, Sunbank, Norbury, Bishops Castle; For: PPU.

Saturday, May 17-Sunday, May 18

CRICH: Weekend Conf. S. Derbyshire; For: Dr. E. A. Allen; Details from Gerald Styles; 63 Field Ho, Alverston, Derby.

Tuesday, May 20

LOUGHTON: 8 p.m. Wesley Hall; Hugh Faulkner; For: PPU.

ST. ALBANS: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho; Upper Lattimore Rd; The Rev. C. Paul Gliddon; For: PPU.

Thursday, May 22

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho. Bush Rd; Win Marsh, "Genetics"; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields: Open air mtg; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.

Saturday, May 24

CANTERBURY: 3.30 and 6.30. Presbyterian Ch Hall; Area rally; Rev. Clifford Macquarie; For: PPU.

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INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath, Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 13 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

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The engagement of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a Local Office of the Ministry of Labour or a scheduled Employment Agency IF the applicant is a man aged 18-64 inclusive or a woman aged 18-55 inclusive, UNLESS he or she or the employment is excepted from the provisions of Vacancies Order 1952.

THE CBCO needs a male assistant experienced in office work and able to share responsibility with the Secretary. Apply to 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT. Peace News, needs voluntary assistance for records, filing, etc. Morning, afternoon or evening.

MARRIED COUPLE wanted as assistant wardens. Write Principal, Hever Warren School, Hever, Kent.

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VIOLET PLANTS (blue) 3s. 6d. per dozen, post paid, D. Kinver, "Goutsford," Ermington, Ivybridge, Devon.

MISCELLANEOUS

AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL children's drawings. Exhibition at Artist's Ho., Manette St, Charing Cross Rd, W.1. Tuesday, May 6 to Tuesday, May 27. 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily. Miss Nancy Price will speak on Saturday, May 10 at 11 a.m.

NATURE CURE Health Centre. Blunham House, Bedfordshire. Apply to the Secretary for particulars.

WORLD LEAGUE against Vivisection opposes all cruelties in food, dress, amusements and medicine. Copy of "The Animal's Champion" free on request, 42 Aberdeen Rd, London, N.5.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

TWO NEW Chinese films. Double premiere "China, Family of Nations" (U) and "Along the Yangtze" (U). Speaker, Mr. Harold Davies, MP, recently returned from World Economic Conference, Moscow. Scala Theatre, W.1. Monday, May 19, 7.30 p.m.; Res. seats, 10s. 6d., 7s. 6d., 5s., 3s. 6d., 2s. 6d., from Theatre or Britain-China Friendship Association, 17 Bishops Bridge Road, W.2. Tel: AMB 1431-2 (s.a.e. when writing, please).

A STEP TOWARDS A NEW FOREIGN POLICY Labour and German rearmament

HOW quickly opinion in the Labour Party is changing was revealed quite clearly last week in the statement that was approved by the National Executive of the Labour Party.

The first paragraph read:

"Steps should be taken without further delay by Her Majesty's Government, in association with the governments of the United States and France, to hold a Four Power conference with the Soviet government, limited in the first instance to discussing the possibility of free elections throughout Germany and the means by which such freedom could be assured to the German people."

This certainly is a step in the right direction.

The Soviet government has taken the initiative in calling for Four Power talks about the future of Germany. It has declared for the principle of a free and independent Germany and the withdrawal of occupation troops and is even prepared to allow such a Germany the right to have its own army, navy and air force, although its aim is a neutral demilitarised Germany which will not be a threat to any of the countries which Germany fought during the last war.

Why should we refuse to agree to these discussions? We have been denouncing the Russians for years for not being prepared to talk? What excuse can there be now for refusing to enter on such negotiations even if finally they break down?

No opportunity should be missed

Surely no opportunity should be missed of trying to find out what the Russians would do about Germany?

If they don't want to stay there permanently, on what terms are they prepared to take their occupation troops out?

Certainly the Russian note has created political difficulties for Dr. Adenauer and his government at Bonn on whom we were relying for providing those German divisions which were to be part of the armies of the West.

For the German people want to be rid of the occupation armies of both East and West. They don't want to see Germany permanently divided into occupation zones and to have to pay a big annual bill for maintaining them.

The overwhelming opinion in Germany is in favour of having these talks. There was no doubt this was the view of the German Social Democratic Party when Dr.

Dalton and the British Labour Party Delegation met the German Socialist leaders recently.

The second paragraph of the Labour Party's National Executive Committee's statement read:

"The National Executive declares that in order to satisfy the fourth condition laid down on behalf of the Labour Party by Mr. Attlee, namely that before any German rearmament is undertaken there must be agreement with the German people, fresh elections should be held in Western Germany before any commitment is undertaken by the Adenauer government for a German contribution to the European Defence Community."

This is again sound commonsense. It lays it down that the Labour Party wants to see the German people themselves endorse any proposal for the rearmament of Germany before we agree to it.

The German Socialists will not underwrite Dr. Adenauer's rearmament proposals and in doing so are confident they are expressing the views of the great mass of German people who do not wish to see Germany become the cockpit of another war. Not that the leaders of the German Social Democratic Party are convinced pacifists or against any German armed forces at all. But they see the danger of a German army—trained and supported by ex-Nazis—again becoming something very much like the old Wehrmacht and being used against Socialism in Germany.

There is in Germany, if not a strong, well-defined pacifist party, yet a strong anti-war public opinion which is opposed to Germany becoming a militarist nation once again.

U.S. plans in the balance

What Dr. Adenauer fears, and what the German Social Democratic leaders are confident about, is that this opinion would express itself very strongly at any elections that may be held and that the Germans would declare themselves strongly against conscription and militarism.

That would of course completely upset the American plans for using German forces in Europe as part of the plans that General Eisenhower has been organising in Europe.

Whether the Western military men and politicians, who have been in favour of NATO and all its implications, like it or not, their schemes which depended on the immediate rearmament of Germany are now in the melting pot.

The Labour Party Executive's declaration is a definite reversal of the Labour Government's rearmament policy to an extent which has perhaps not yet been realised.

Which way for France

The final paragraph of the resolution read:

"The National Executive further expresses the hope that, in the interests of Western European Defence, the United States will soon furnish to the French army, the arms and equipment already promised."

Only if this is done can there be any possibility of satisfying the first condition of the Attlee declaration, namely that the rearmament of the members of NATO must precede that of Germany."

This is a curious paragraph, meant presumably as some kind of re-assurance for the French.

But the French will be asking the question if there is a possibility of a neutral, demilitarised Germany, why should France not become neutral and demilitarised too? Because a France armed by America and Britain with a potential hostile Germany allied to Russia would be in an infinitely more dangerous position than a France that had decided on a policy of peaceful co-operation with Germany and the USSR.

Would the Americans be so anxious to continue their unlimited military and economic contributions to the support of a French army in a Europe where the political situation had undergone such a complete change?

Generals will not be impressed.

Western European defence without the German military contribution is not what the American generals want and they are not likely to be impressed with this appeal from the British Labour Party.

But it is the two first paragraphs that are vital. They mean that the National Executive of the Labour Party has come to a far reaching decision on the question of the rearmament of Germany which implies the need for a new foreign policy very different from that pursued by the Labour Government.

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Bombs — Atom or Napalm? THE CHURCH'S DILEMMA

Dr. Garbett, Archbishop of York, referring . . . to methods of war says there is grave concern over the use of napalm by the United Nations. "From reliable reports it appears to be a weapon which inflicts terrible and indiscriminate loss and suffering," he writes. "The Christian Church, though unable to prevent war, should call on all the nations to pledge themselves to refrain from the use of weapons which indiscriminately destroy those for whom Christ died as if they were worthless flies."

—Daily Telegraph, April 28, 1952.

A senior spokesman for United States Air Force . . . said that napalm, the jellied bomb, is a military weapon which has been used throughout the Korean war, and will continue to be used in accordance with military strategy. In answer to arguments that the weapon is inhuman (referring to the Archbishop of York) he said it was generally agreed throughout the world that war itself was inhuman.

—Manchester Guardian, April 30, 1952.

THE Archbishop of York's Diocesan letter referring to the horrible cruelty and total indiscriminate use of the napalm bomb (about which, it would appear he has only just heard) has had such an explosive effect that the reverberations are still ringing and echoing all over the world.

Most of the commentators and correspondents in the newspapers and periodicals have ignored his statement that the Christian Church cannot prevent wars, presumably because they accept this opinion of the Church without question, and almost all have concentrated upon the need for international agreement either to ban the weapons of mass destruction, or promote world government as the only method of control. Apart from the mili-

tary view of it as a strategic weapon which will certainly not be given up, the dominating theme has been "control."

*

The truth is that it is not possible to control man's inventions. As mankind has gone forward (if it can be called that) with scientific discoveries, so the weapons of war have matched, and often exceeded, the speed and ingenuity of other machines. From horseless carriages to winged vehicles, the transport of the last fifty years has rushed upon its strange and exciting way, and alongside of each new invention has appeared yet another terrifying and devastating weapon of destruction.

To split the atom was the dream of scientists for a century or more, but when the discovery was made it was instantly used for the purpose of dealing death and mutilation to tens of thousands of human beings in a "far country" exactly as though they were "worthless flies."

The attitude of mind which stands aghast at the slaughter of large numbers of people is understandable, in that the impact upon the imagination is violent, but for a Christian protest, based upon the belief that Jesus died for all human beings, to depend solely upon the number killed, and the manner of the killing, and not upon the killing itself is almost incomprehensible.

It seems that Dr. Garbett is upset about the mass slaughter of the innocents, not about slaughter in war as such.

He is concerned, it would appear, about weapons which destroy indiscriminately, not, for instance, about the killing, scientifically and silently, that the Commando is trained to do. Is it to be understood that the man the Commando strangles, or the children killed by "ordinary" bombs are not those for whom Christ died, whereas those destroyed in masses are?

*

It would be interesting to know just where the Archbishop would in fact draw a line.

Did the Church say "No" to "obliteration bombing"? Is it now demanding the abolition of the stockpile of atom bombs on the ground that their use is indiscriminate?

The most cursory reading of the sayings of Jesus seem to make it crystal clear that He taught the importance of each single person in the eyes of God. A materialist might possibly find some justification in counting heads, but it is hard to see how such an attitude on the part of the Christian Church is anything but totally irrelevant and actually blasphemous.

Dr. Garbett has had his answer from the military angle; so long as the world accepts war as a weapon it must accept the weapons of war, and it is left for the military strategists to tell the Church that it is war itself that is inhuman.

This is an issue the Church can scarcely evade much longer; it is more than time, if the human race is to be saved at all, that the leaders of Christendom ceased from uttering feeble excuses from behind the entrenchment of the State, and had the courage to preach, without equivocation, the precepts of their Master, which would outlaw not only the napalm and atom bomb, but war itself.

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by

Sybil Morrison

with a Foreword by
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